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## U.S. MISSILE BASE RESISTANCE: FIVE JAILED

FIVE young pacifists in Cheyenne, Wyoming, USA, are now in jail for non-violent action against the construction of an inter-continental ballistic missile base nearby.

In all cases the sentence was 100 days in prison as all refused to pay a \$100 fine with \$4 costs.

Theodore Olson and Arthur Springer have been in Cheyenne since early June trying to rouse the inhabitants to the evil and dangers of nuclear weapons.

Non-violent resistance began on August 18, Ted Olson and Ken Calkins blocking construction trucks inside the missile base site. Finally (as reported in PN, Aug. 29) a truck struck Calkins and he was taken to hospital. Olson was arrested and sentenced for trespassing.

### Trespassing charges

In the following week Mrs. Calkins, Erica Enzer and John White were all sentenced on trespassing charges; Ken Calkins also being charged on release from hospital.

On August 31 a dawn to dusk vigil was started at the gate of the missile base site. In response to requests, Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, the organisation who sponsored the Golden Rule, is assuming support for the project, and Lawrence Scott is now in Cheyenne helping to formulate further plans.

## Offshore islands are part of China

IN a statement made this week regretting that the Foreign Office had suggested an identity of views between the British and US Governments regarding the Quemoy-Formosa crisis, the Labour Party recalled Sir Anthony Eden's statement in 1955 that "the offshore islands have always been regarded by us as part of China."

The Labour Party statement declared that it was beyond doubt that British public



opinion would not support a war to defend these islands for Chiang Kai-shek.

It was essential that China be represented at UN.

See "World Opinion's Chance" on page four and Fenner Brockway on page five.

Pictures by Oliver Caldecott, Peace News contributor and former President of the South African Students' Union, are now being exhibited at The Coffee House, 3, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2. The exhibition closes on October 4.

# ATTEMPT TO GAG SCIENTIST

## PUBLIC OPINION WINS A HEARING FOR DR. PAULING

THE disgraceful treatment of Dr. Linus Pauling at London Airport by the British Immigration authorities brought a strong protest from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament whose meeting he is to address this month.

Because their protest has been so widely supported it is almost certain that Dr. Pauling will be allowed to stay in England for the Campaign's meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on September 22.

The British public were first made aware of the insult to the distinguished American scientist and Nobel Prize winner by a letter from Earl Russell published in The Times on September 5:



On the streets of West London—see page two

## Riots: 'causes go deep'

### Pick and shovel peacemakers at work in Notting Hill

THOUGH there may have been instances of colour bar in Britain we have always been proud of the unique welcome given to all members of the Commonwealth and colonies by the mother country.

"The restrictions on immigration now advocated by Lord Salisbury in his letter on Sept. 2 and others are a counsel of despair. From such reports as the police, local welfare bodies, and responsible journalists have so far made it is clear that the causes of the riots go deep and are part of the very problem discussed by the British Association," wrote Father Huddleston, Lord Hemingford, Elizabeth Pakenham, Mary Benson and Philip Fothergill in a letter to The Times on September 8.

Despite a great deal of comment in the Press and on the radio and television, few practical, constructive suggestions have so far been made.

### Conference on integration

The Movement for Colonial Freedom hope to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square on September 21.

International Voluntary Service have had their "pick-and-shovel peacemakers" down in the Notting Hill area of London repairing windows and making good the damage done by hooligans over recent weeks.

The work has been done without charge. Students at the London School of Economics have made money available for the purchase of materials and another friend of IVS has donated £5 for the purpose.

The work is being organised by Tony Lynes, Hon. Treasurer of IVS. He expects to have another working party out this week-end.

The London Council for Social Service has arranged a conference on the "Integration of West Indians in London" to take

place on Wednesday, October 8, at Caxton Hall.

### A call to Christians

The Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation have issued characteristic statements.

"We are deeply concerned at the outbreak of racial prejudice linked with violence in Nottingham and London. In accordance with the testimony of the Society of Friends over several centuries, we desire once again to emphasise that racial discrimination in any form is contrary to the spirit of Christian teaching," says the statement of the Race Relations Committee.

The FOR's statement reads: "The Fellowship of Reconciliation, numbering in its membership Christians of all denominations and of every colour, feels urged to record its deep regret at the recent outbreaks of violence between white and coloured people in Nottingham and in the Notting Hill district of London."

"The inter-racial aspect of the violence is largely the manifestation of underlying misunderstandings regarding the issues at stake, which are far more of a social and economic nature than of antipathetic race relationships."

"We call upon all Christians and people of goodwill to make clear by their actions now and in the future that they believe in our common wealth and common responsibility one for another."

"On arrival at London Airport he was separated from the other passengers by the immigration authorities, and his son, who had come to meet him, was refused information as to whether he had arrived."

"He was closely questioned as to the purposes of his visit. When he mentioned the Chemical Society, he was asked whether he had any evidence that they had invited him. He replied that the evidence was in his baggage which was in the customs shed, and asked whether they accused him of lying. At the moment they did not answer, but at a later stage they made this accusation."

"At first they said that he must leave the United Kingdom on September 15. He pointed out that this made his address to the Chemical Society impossible, and they reluctantly extended his permit to the next day, September 16."

"They stated as the ground of their action: 'We do not admit people to Great Britain who come principally to take part in public meetings, especially when against Government policy.'"

"This action by the British authorities is shocking. First, for the gross discourtesy of subjecting a man of great intellectual eminence, who has been honoured by many learned bodies in this country, to insult at the hands of ignorant officials."

"Second, if Government policy is as stated to Dr. Pauling, free speech had been abandoned and the only freedom left is that of supporting the Government."

### Request to Home Office

In an editorial comment the following day the News Chronicle declared that if the immigration authorities' statement regarding people taking part in meetings against Government policy was approved by the Government "it shows that the British Cabinet has no faith in free speech."

In a statement issued from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament office on Monday, Canon Collins said that the suggestion made by the Home Office that the promoters of the Central Hall meeting were disreputable is absurd.

"The Campaign has the support and sponsorship of a large number of eminent British citizens from many different professions and parties. It has no party political affiliations."

"The Home Office," the statement continued, "has stated that 'where an alien's visit to Britain is split into two parts by a trip to another country, each "leg" of the United Kingdom visit has, by law, to be dealt with separately by the immigration authorities. By law, entry can only be permitted for the first part of Dr. Pauling's visit and his re-entry will have to be dealt with when he returns.'"

"If this is, in fact, the case, the Campaign cannot understand why so eminent a scientist as Dr. Pauling was submitted to questioning for an hour on his arrival, and why in the first instance the officer in question proposed to grant him a visa until Sept. 15 only, which would have prevented him from speaking at the Kekulé Symposium of the Chemical Society of London on that date."

"The Campaign requests the Home Office to give a categorical assurance that no attempt will be made to prevent Dr. Pauling from re-entering this country in order to take part in their meeting."

See Sybil Morrison on back page.



# ON THE STREET WHERE YOU LIVE

By ALAN LOVELL

"THE teddy boys have found a new and (to them) entertaining target. Chasing a coloured man, mobbing him and beating him up is an agreeable sport and no more dangerous than (to the wealthier) fox-hunting." *Manchester Guardian*, September 3, 1958

Too many of us assume that the setting up of the welfare state solved our most important social problems. When such incidents as the recent "race riots" take place, everybody is at a loss to understand why hundreds of young people find it amusing and exciting to chase coloured people or to throw bricks through their windows. The newspapers talk about "young thugs" or talk about "teddy boys" as if that term needed no further explanation.

Very few people are prepared to make a serious effort to find out what "teddy boys" are like or what sort of world they live in.

Go into any industrial suburb. The first thing that you notice is the dreariness and ugliness of the place. Rows of nondescript houses packed right up to each other, streets which are dusty and drab, this is the kind of place you might find anywhere in England.

## Deadened by ugliness

"The real tragedy of England," wrote D. H. Lawrence, "as I see it, is the tragedy of ugliness. The country is so beautiful: man-made England is so vile . . . It was ugliness which betrayed the spirit of man in the nineteenth century. The great crime which the moneyed classes and the promoters of industry committed in the palmy Victorian days was the condemning of the workers to ugliness, ugliness, ugliness, meanness and formless and ugly surroundings, ugly ideals, ugly religion, ugly hope, ugly love, ugly clothes, ugly furniture, ugly houses, ugly relationships between workers and employers. The human soul needs actual beauty even more than bread."

It would be surprising if anything creative came out of an environment like this. Nor does society try to develop peoples' creative abilities. Our educational system marks a number of children out at the age of eleven as failures. After that the system does very little for them other than making sure that they can continue to read and write. "We're no good, sir. We know, we've been told," as one class of boys aged 15 told a teacher in a secondary modern school.

And when children leave school, most of them get boring, deadening jobs. Working from 7 to 5.30 on a mechanical repetitive job is not one of the best ways of helping human beings to develop.

Young people inevitably spend their leisure time in search of excitement and glamour. There are many people who are willing to give it to them. The people who control the cinema, television, and the Press are only too willing to cater for these tastes. "Cater" is the wrong word, perhaps in this context. "Exploit" is a much better one.

## Cashing in on violence

The people who control and work in the mass entertainments are adept at using the drug-peddler's argument, "We're only giving the public what it wants," is the quick reply to any criticism. Few people feel any personal responsibility for their work. Making a film, writing a newspaper article are on the same level as manufacturing chocolate—just another commodity to be sold.

The only aim is to cash in on anything profitable. In the cinema, war films have cashed in on certain nostalgia which people in this country seemed to have felt for the certainties of the period of the second world war.

In dozens of British films of the last few years war has been presented as a game, violence glamourised, and the Germans presented as "gentlemen" who just happened to be fighting on the other side. Now that the appetite for war films is beginning to



fail, there is a rush to cash in on horror films which have the advantage of combining both violence and the fear of the supernatural.

Take a look at the paper backs on a bookstall, the next time you pass one. They even more blatantly try to exploit basic human feelings.

To quote a characteristic passage from a

book of this kind, "Suddenly Fatsy brought his knee hard up into Herb's groin. Herb's face came down sharp and Fatsy met it with his hamlike fist. The knuckles splintered the bone and made bone and flesh squelch like burst pomegranate. Herb fell back on the tiled floor, retching teeth."

The only aim in a passage like this is to give the reader a vicarious thrill by making him feel the incidents that are described. (For a very good treatment of this subject, see "The Uses of Literacy" by Richard Hoggart from which the passage quoted above is taken).

Or look at your daily paper the next time there is a murder case. When the Manuel trial took place, some months ago, the Daily Mirror published a photograph on its front page. It was obviously chosen especially to suggest Manuel's brutality.

## Teddy boys blamed

A picture like this, by the purely emotional effect of fear that it produces on the reader, works directly against the Daily Mirror's campaign to get capital punishment abolished.

Is it surprising that faced with all these forces, young people's responses to life are coarsened and their imaginations deadened. It is not surprising that many boys look forward to their National Service as an escape from their normal lives.

That anything vital should have come out of such an environment is amazing. But it has. Teddy boys have shown that clothes do not need to be as dull and unimaginative as the usual English suit. The interest in modern jazz (much of which demands a

high degree of musical awareness) shows that young people are a great deal more intelligent than the irresponsible people who control the mass entertainments and talk so knowingly about "what the public wants."

The general response to such features has been unimaginative and narrow. Teddy boy clothes are laughed at and jazz and rock and roll sneered at. Teddy boys are blamed for every unidentified outbreak of violence. It is not surprising that teddy boys form anti-social gangs which often find outlets for their frustration in violence.

Instead of recognising and encouraging jazz and an adventurous taste in clothes we try to impose our preconceived ideas of what "culture" is on children. We think in terms of classical music, Shakespeare or ballet. The reaction of children to this attempted imposition is very violent.

## 'The Aimless Society'

Questioned about their reactions to traditional culture, a group of children in a secondary modern school gave answers of this kind: "Mozart should go for a long walk on a short pier," "Opera singers should be done in," "Covent Garden and Sadler's Wells ought to be bombed."

Nor is the problem of young people peculiar to this country. The same restlessness can be seen in a country like Poland. In a documentary film shown recently at the National Film Theatre there is a disturbing picture of the aimless lives of Polish youth in a Warsaw suburb. And the James Dean films, particularly "Rebel Without a Cause," have shown how, in America, this restlessness is translated into violence.

We have created what might will be called "The Aimless Society." To quote D. H. Lawrence again, "We have frustrated the instinct of community which would make us unite in pride and dignity in the bigger gesture of the citizen, not the cottager." It is our young people who show this frustration most.

Instead of talking glibly about "thugs" and "teddy boys" it is about time that we looked at the sort of society that we have created.

In this article I have concentrated on internal conditions.

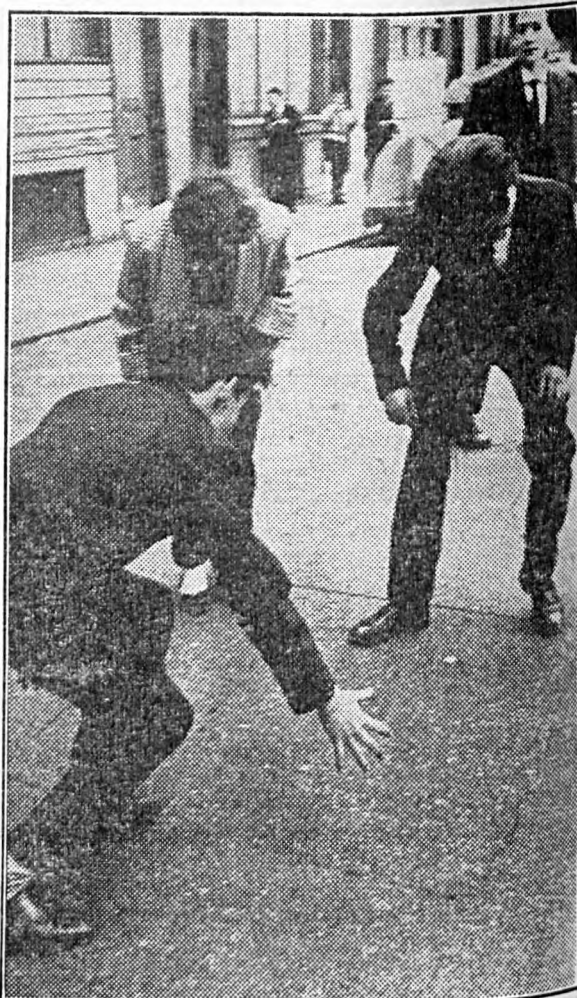
If you add to this the political climate of this country, we should not be surprised at the "race riots." A country which uses young people for two years to keep coloured people in their places, which often denies colonial people basic human rights should not be surprised if conscripts carry over these attitudes into civilian life.

A country which manufactures and threatens to use the H-bomb can hardly expect to encourage a respect for human life among its citizens.

Nottingham and Kenya, Nottingham and Central Africa should make us search our consciences.



Photographer Roger Mayne catches the young people and children of the poorer areas of West London against their everyday background of peeling paintwork, overcrowding and improvised play.



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## Seventh American state abolishes death penalty

From Frank Dawtry

**A**FTER three years of argument, a Bill to abolish capital punishment in the American state of Delaware has been carried and brought into effect.

Delaware, which has had the death penalty throughout its history, thus becomes the seventh state of USA now to have abandoned the use of the death penalty. The others are Michigan, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and Maine.

The Bill was first introduced in 1955, but was only passed in June, 1957, by the Senate by a vote of 10 to 1, with three members abstaining.

Mr. Herbert L. Cobin, an attorney, of Wilmington, and president of the Delaware Prisoners' Aid Society, gathered together evidence about capital punishment which had been given to committees or commissions which have studied the problem of capital punishment in Great Britain, Canada, California and Illinois.

His evidence was instrumental in swinging the opinion of the House of Representatives who passed the Bill by 18 votes to 11; after that, the Senate did not hesitate to confirm this decision.

The Wilmington Morning News had the following editorial comment when the Bill was put into effect:

"Now, we believe, the people and the State are ready for this historic step. But the innovation will still be on trial. One particularly revolting crime during the next few years, or a wave of the sort of crimes to which the death penalty formerly applied, could bring an outcry for the restoration of capital punishment. Barring this sort of mischance, we are confident that in Delaware as elsewhere, experience with the abolition of the death penalty will bring the settled conviction that it was the right thing to do."

## It's back to work we go

**B**UT I hope that you have all had a very happy holiday wherever you may have been. The Peace Pledge Union's Summer Holiday Conference at Borth had the best attendance of this series, and even though the weather was not all that we could have wished, everybody seemed to enjoy themselves, including the children whom we were glad to have with us.

The programme combined free time during the day for excursions, bathing and table tennis, with interesting discussions each evening. It thus illustrated the dual purpose of the week, and also the association of a necessary period of relaxation with the fact that there is no "off season" for pacifism.

So the holiday season leads into autumn and winter activities and, so far as the PPU Headquarters is concerned, we look like being even busier than ever. We hope that all groups are planning plenty of local activities, in which we will always be glad to help, and that all readers of Peace News will be taking a full share.

One important way of sharing is to help in raising the money necessary for our work, so I hope that you did not spend all your money while on holiday. Generous contributions from some who were at Borth have helped to swell the total of the PPU's Headquarters Fund. Please look to see if you have any spare cash left over, and if not there is the new opportunity of a visit to your bank manager. Please send anything you can spare to the PPU Headquarters Fund in gratitude for a good holiday and to give us a good start with the work which lies ahead.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

We hope to raise £1,200 during 1958. To date we have received £668.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

# EMOTIONAL REACTIONS TO THE ATOMIC AGE

UN STUDIES OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES

By James Avery Joyce

**A** PLAN for community education in dealing with "irrational fears and irrational hopes" roused by today's nuclear projects has been initiated by the World Health Organisation (WHO). The plan calls for the formation of small local teams consisting, for example, of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a sociologist and a journalist, to help in the study of new atomic enterprises and their acceptance by the public.

These proposals have been made by a WHO study group, meeting in Geneva, which has been called together to review mental health problems related to the advent of the atomic age. Specialists from fields as different as psychiatry, atomic and radiation sciences, public health, social anthropology and journalism, are engaged in this study so far, and other experts are being brought in.

## More fears than hopes

The group has already examined reports from many countries concerning the emotional impact of atomic energy developments as reflected in everyday life, public statements, the Press, and letters to atomic authorities or political leaders.

They found that, in general, irrational fears were expressed far more often than irrational hopes.

One reason for this, the group said, might be found in the fact that people were first made aware of radiation as a means for treating two dreaded diseases, tuberculosis and cancer. But worse, atomic energy was first used on a vast scale as a war weapon; and this action had aroused a deep sense of fear. In some people the contemplation of the atomic bomb also carried with it moral involvement and personal guilt.

## Dread of unknown powers

The group also found that public attitudes reflected a view of atomic radiation as an invisible and apparently infinite power springing from an almost infinitely small source, and credited with limitless potentialities for both good and evil.

Perhaps the most terrifying aspect of atomic energy in the popular imagination was that its tremendous power might one day soon get out of control.

More recently, too, people were beginning to fear its biological reaction. Fall-out and atomic wastes would poison the air, water, and soil; then the plants and cattle, the men who ate them, and, above all, their children and their descendants. This apprehension, the WHO has found, is a deeper and more subtle fear than that of the unleashing of energy itself that might destroy the universe.

## Mistrust of information

Another significant finding of the group is what they describe as "a widespread sense of disorientation" in regard to atomic energy matters, and a deep mistrust of most information sources.

For this lack of credulity there were many reasons, including wars, psychological warfare, political propaganda, and even the effects of competitive commercial advertising.

Moreover, the publicising of disagreements and contradictions among scientists about polio vaccine or the cancer-producing effects of tobacco and so forth, had also contributed to a growing mistrust of science. Although a certain section of public opinion could be relied on, for the time being, to place confidence in authoritative declarations, in many countries a general distrust of scientific pronouncements was becoming the rule.

## Bad effects of 'science fiction'

In addition, in some countries, the unrestrained licence of "science fiction" had so pictured the horrors of scientific power, the "death ray" and the "mad scientist," that this was the interpretation that ordinary people put on what they read and heard.

One serious drawback to this attitude was that it formed one of the most serious obstacles in the way of establishing

public confidence in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

So much for the ever mounting elements of fear. But unreasonable hopes were also taking their toll in both the developed and the under-developed countries. Irrational expectations, the group stated, might lead not only to local dissatisfaction, but also become a real danger to the whole world.

Many people were expecting immediate returns from atomic energy in terms of national prestige, and a higher standard of living which, for the first time, would put poor countries on a par with the richest countries. These people were bound to be disappointed.

New ways of life and many technical changes were needed before these goals could be accomplished, and the disparity between aspirations and results could well be catastrophic, and lead to further international hostility. Atomic energy developments demanded, therefore, the sanest and wisest possible handling by both scientists and governments. Although the group do not state so in specific terms, it is clear that irresponsible bragging and atomic sabre-rattling has a boomerang effect against the people who are presumably being "protected."

## COUNCIL SAYS NO TO H-BOMB BANNERS ON THE BEACH

**A** POSTER parade, organised by the Clacton branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, was held along the sea front recently. Between 40 and 50 people marched from Christ Church led by the minister of the church, the Rev. Motson Thompson. Leaflets were distributed among the holiday crowds lining the route. The parade was supported by a group from the Colchester branch of the Campaign.

The Clacton Town Council refused permission for the march to take place on the upper or lower promenades.

Commenting on this decision, the East Essex Gazette wrote: "A lot of rather controversial gatherings take place on Clacton front with the Council's blessing. . . They are part of a pattern of free speech, and for that reason alone the H-bomb banners should have been allowed on Clacton beach to battle with the beauties for the eye and attention of the holiday public. It may well be that it would be a losing battle, but at least Clacton Council should have allowed them to go into action on behalf of their beliefs."

## AT EASE AT BORTH



A good time was had by all at Borth in Wales where these members of the Peace Pledge Union recently gathered for their Summer Holiday Conference.

## UP AND DOING THE BOMBSHELL CONFERENCE

**T**HE Labour Party Annual conference starts on Monday, September 29. The H-bomb issue will loom large there, 65 per cent of the 141 resolutions on disarmament call for the unilateral abandonment by Britain of nuclear weapons. But you can make it look even larger; you can turn it into the "H-bomb conference."

Here are some of the things you can do. Write to the local Press. Write to your local Labour councillors and party secretary. Tell them what you think about the H-bomb and why you think it is the supremely important issue of the day. Drive the point home with a copy of Peace News.

Anyone living near Scarborough should not miss the pre-conference CND rally on the Sunday night, September 28, where leading lights of the campaign, including the outspoken pacifist clergyman, Canon Collins, will be speaking. Fenner Brockway, M.P., Minnie Pallister, Victor Yates, M.P., Emerys Hughes, M.P., and others can be heard on the Monday night at the Labour Peace Fellowship meeting. A Movement for Colonial Freedom meeting will be held on Tuesday.

**PEACE NEWS SELLERS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED** for these and other events. We would be obliged if anyone attending the conference or who lives within striking distance and can lend a hand would get in touch with me at Peace News as soon as possible.

MICHAEL RANDLE,  
Sales organiser

## Sign against H-bombs

**T**HE Campaign against Nuclear Death in Hessen, Germany, has issued postcards for those wishing to signify their support for the Campaign and who are ready to declare:

"I confirm that I consider the activity of the Hessen committee of the Campaign against Nuclear Death absolutely necessary. I confirm with my signature that I protest together with Albert Schweitzer, the 18 professors of Göttingen, many other scientists, physicians, theologians and persons of public life as well as with thousands of men and women against the armament, manufacture and storage of nuclear weapons and bombs."

## March in Bristol

FROM MARGARET BROWN

**D**ISTINGUISHED members of the medical profession were among Bristol citizens, including Friends, members of the FOR and the PPU who campaigned for Nuclear Disarmament in a march from the Victoria Rooms recently.

It was a Sunday afternoon procession with banners aloft, and culminated in a public meeting on Durdham Downs. Will Parkin and Mrs. Freda Ehlers were the speakers, and they already had a considerable crowd in the campaigners themselves.



# PEACE NEWS

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## World opinion's chance

**THE RECURRENT CRISES** over Quemoy and Matsu are the direct outcome of a policy forced upon an unwilling world by the assertive egotism of US policy. We should now face this fact.

The alternative is that we shall continue to be disturbed by such crises until the dangerous game of threat and counter threat that is being played by the Washington and Peking Governments breaks down and a major war is upon the world.

The US Government's position in regard to China is manifestly absurd and contradictory. That other Governments should accept this position is merely evidence that the policy of a powerful Government, however unjustifiable it may be, can be imposed upon its allies, so long as it is backed by great resources and immense armed power.

When the US State Department describes the desire of the Peking Government to take over control of Quemoy and Matsu as "stark reminders of Peking's militarism and aggressive expansionism" (so different from the moral to be drawn from the continued US insistence on controlling Okinawa!) it is proceeding on the assumption that the Peking Government is the Government of China; and that, despite all its unsatisfactory features, it is the actual Government of 600 million Chinese—just as the Moscow Government is the actual Government of 200 million Russians and the Lisbon Government is the actual Government of nine million Portuguese.

When it is a question of the representation of the Chinese nation in the United Nations, however, the US Government says that the Peking Government is no Government at all; it is merely the centre of a rebellion against the legitimate Chinese Government, which rules China from Taipeh in Formosa.

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**IT** is this Government in Taipeh that is, according to the US, responsible for the administration of the affairs of the 600 million people of China.

It is by virtue of this responsibility, and not because of its control over the 7½ million people of Formosa, that it has a seat in the United Nations. Indeed, it is because it is the Government of one of the five major powers that it sits in the Security Council and can exercise the veto.

Everybody is of course aware that it could never use its veto without the consent of the US. And with that consent it would be the veto of the US and not of Chiang's Government. If Chiang's delegate exercised a genuine veto, Chiang's membership of the United Nations would very rapidly cease.

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**IT** is the Peking Government which has, as in 1955, exercised the restraint that has brought a halt in the conflict over the islands and put an end to the immediate risk that the struggle would expand into a major war.

Despite the oft-heard claim that the likeliest way to avert war is to let a prospective enemy know precisely what he can expect if his actions take a form you object to, the US has worked on the opposite principle on this occasion. It has preferred to keep everybody guessing.

In 1955 it announced that it would fight if the Chinese Government attacked Formosa, but that it would only fight to protect Quemoy and Matsu if it regarded their defence as necessary for the defence of Formosa. The Chinese Government was left to take a chance. It is to its credit that it did not do so but expressed a readiness to negotiate.

Since then Chiang has taken care that the protection of these two islands should be regarded as necessary for the defence of Formosa by planting one-third of his total forces on them. This time the State Department implies that it would fight over Quemoy and Matsu but leaves in doubt what it would do if the smaller islands in the vicinity were attacked. The Chinese Government could probably take these over without precipitating war. Again it has, to its credit, expressed a willingness to negotiate.

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**THE** forthcoming negotiations will inevitably prove as unfruitful as they did before if the US is allowed to continue on the assumption that the Peking Government is not a Government and has no rights in the face of attacks by Chiang.

It is possible that a major war over Formosa, involving the US and Russia, would not engage the rest of the world. The consequences of such a war would, however, almost certainly be world wide. Other Governments must therefore take action to change the whole basis of the assumptions which will guide the US in any negotiations she enters into with China.

## Devious Dulles

**THERE** is a double standard applied in the mixture of bluff and serious intention to make war involved in the process of threat and counter-threat in such matters as the struggle over the maintenance of the position of Chiang Kai-shek as an active enemy to the Peking Government.

Mr. Dulles claims the Chinese abandonment of threats for the acceptance of negotiation as evidence of the success of his latest act of "brinkmanship," his greater willingness to take risks of bringing tragedy to humanity than is the Government of Mao Tse-tung.

We are told on the one hand that China's bluff has been called and the same commentators who write in these terms can treat the possibility of a war having arisen in the Formosa Strait as resulting from a Chinese miscalculation of US intentions. It could equally, of course, be the result of a miscalculation on the part of the State Department of the Chinese Government's intentions.

Mr. Acheson, Mr. Dulles' predecessor at the State Department, has now revealed that it was Mr. Dulles himself who was the "anonymous official" who disclosed that the State Department's repetition of its commitment of US armed forces to war in defence of Chiang's occupation of Quemoy and Matsu must now be taken as an absolute undertaking.

From Japan, however, comes another disclosure. This is that during the spring of this year the US Government had strongly urged Chiang Kai-shek to withdraw his troops from Quemoy and Matsu and had been met by a blunt refusal. There would seem, therefore to be full justification in the jibe that has been levelled at US policy that it is "ready to go to war at a time and place of Chiang Kai-shek's choosing"; and that Chiang is able to follow his own policy rather than that which would be preferred by the U.S. State Department is explained by the fact that he has more formidable forces behind him among the wealthy jingoistic circles in the United States than he has distributed among the islands he occupies.

## The larger lunacy

**WE** are indebted to the King-Hall News-letter for the following information picked up from the US newspaper Western World regarding the latest "defence" proposal coming from one of the United States legislators.

This is Congressman L. W. O'Brien. He is a member of the House Committee on Aeronautics and Space Exploration. He wants a manned lunar station, and he regards it as urgent that the United States (or at least the "free world") should establish it. Here is why he holds it to be important:

"Into the far side of the moon (which no one can ever see) a series of shafts might be dug. From these, missiles could be catapulted into trajectory and thence guided as desired to any precise impact points on the earth's surface. This [i.e., digging under the surface of the moon] would provide full defence of an existing lunar base . . . and even assuming that by fortuitous circumstances an enemy rocket did manage to approach and impact, the occupants [of the lunar base] could simply go underground to avoid the thermal effects and the high-velocity neutrons and X-rays of a nuclear reaction . . . residual radioactive contamination could be easily scraped away from the base areas, such as the entrance to underground quarters. A rival colonising expedition could be easily surrounded and annihilated before the inhabitants could set up the complicated establishment necessary for existence in an airless, waterless environment. The price of aggression against the free world is becoming prohibitively high for its enemies. A lunar missile installation controlled by the free world would keep it so."

A manned station on the moon, holds Congressman O'Brien, would thus give the free world an important military (and consequently political) advantage!

## Apartheid: ideal . . .

**SPEAKING** on the possible establishment of a Republic of South Africa, that he desires shall be achieved as early as possible after a mandate has been obtained for it from the South African (white) people, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the new Prime Minister, has elaborated upon the position of the black population in the Republic, which is to contain them but of which they will not form a part.

The new Republic is to have the character of a parliamentary democracy, but only the white population will be permitted to occupy seats in Parliament. The Government will not seek to impose Western democracy on the black population, says Dr. Verwoerd, which will continue to live according to tribal democracy.

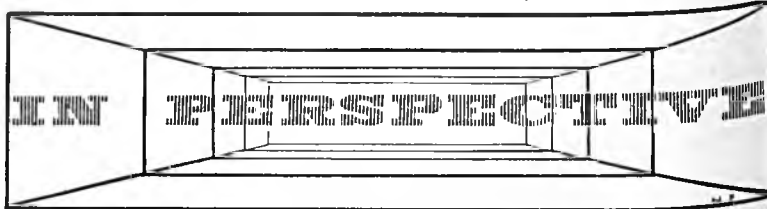
Here the new South African Prime Minister is falling back upon the claims of the more idealistic con-

ception of apartheid, which he has not the slightest intention of acting upon in practice. The brutal impact of Western ways and Western conceptions of government upon those who have developed their own very different methods and traditions can have heart-breaking consequences for native peoples who have as little understanding of what is being done to their way of life as many of those who bring the changes have of the values inherent in the traditions they are destroying. If apartheid really meant that the African peoples were to live apart from the white populations and develop their own institutions and ways of life there would be a great deal to be said for it.

## . . . and the real

**A** PART from the few university professors who think in these terms, however, there is not the slightest intention among the white population, and certainly not among the white politicians, that there shall be any development of this kind. South African development depends upon the integration of black labour in the white-controlled industrial structure, and this is a process that is continually going forward and which no effort will be made to stem.

A decision just taken by the South African Supreme Court illustrates this. On the recommendation of the industrial tribunal concerned, the Minister of Labour



had made an order reserving certain jobs in the clothing industry for white workers only. This was not an "apartheid" measure. Black workers were to continue in the industry on the less remunerative jobs. The order was directed to securing a preferential position to the white workers.

This order has now been set aside on the ground that if all machinist work were to be reserved for whites the clothing factories in most cases would be unable to replace all non-white machinists by white. Apartheid is unfortunately not a piece of social idealism motivated by a tender concern for the different native conditions; it is an instrument to be used in an attempt to ensure the permanent subordination of the black majority to the white minority.

Dr. Verwoerd made it clear in his comments that the decision to establish a republic would not necessarily involve breaking the connection with the Commonwealth. For ourselves we hope that the one thing will lead to the other.

## French debate

**A** PART from General de Gaulle's own theatrically staged ceremonial and address in the Place de la Republique on his proposed constitution and the referendum of September 28, the two most important pronouncements with regard to the referendum have come from M. Guy Mollet in the SFIO party organ and from M. Mendes-France at a Press conference last Friday.

The statement of M. Mollet was largely an apology for his own course of action, an unqualified advocacy for the proposed constitution, and a call to the members of his Party to vote "Yes." It is a lead that will in all probability be followed by the majority of the members of his largely discredited Party.

The statement of M. Mendes-France is a very different matter. It is not only a powerfully argued call to vote "no," but it outlines a course of action which, carried through under effective leadership, could bring governmental stability to France earlier than would the procedures provided for in General de Gaulle's proposals.

M. Mendes-France urges that a negative vote given in the referendum should be followed in October by the meeting of a constituent assembly elected on a single-member constituency basis. This should draw up and decide upon a new constitution, while there should be a congress of the entire French Union to work out a plan for future relations between France and the French-administered overseas territories.

The importance of the statement from M. Mendes-France is that it can remove the fear of those who dislike the undemocratic aspects of the de Gaulle constitution that its rejection must inevitably plunge France into chaos through the inadequacies of the French political system before the coup d'etat of the "ultras," and threaten a descent into civil struggle between the Communist and Fascist elements.

M. Mendes-France's criticisms of the de Gaulle constitution and the fact that he has advanced alternative plans are not likely to deprive de Gaulle of his majority. It may be hoped, however, that they will result in a substantial increase in the proportion of "no" votes and offer a course that the dissenting members of the SFIO may follow; for the revelation in the ballot of a formidable opposition will greatly lessen the prospect that the de Gaulle regime will be permitted to decline into unqualified dictatorship.

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# NOTTING HILL AND THE INFECTION OF VIOLENCE

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ISSUES clamour for attention this week. The racial riots in Britain, America's threat to China, the deeper tragedy descending on Cyprus, the surrender of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South-West Africa, and, less noticed, the significance of the Chilean presidential election for the future of South America: all demand notice.

## Colour feeling?

"The Observer" published photographs last Sunday of crowds in Notting Hill addressed by the General Secretary of Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascist organisation.

I could find only one face of thirty years. Every one else in the two pictures was either in the early twenties, a teen-ager or a child.

I do not suggest that the problem of the racial riots is as simple as that. Irrational colour feeling, social and economic problems, varied and complex, are involved. But these photographs reveal very much.

In my experience there is less racial prejudice among the younger generation in Britain than among their elders. Black and white study together, dance together, walk together. Coloured entertainers, orchestras and singers are popular with our youth on television.

## Decent minded must act

But a disturbing section of our younger generation is coming under another influence, the infection of violence. Both television and films feed this. Long before the Nottingham and Notting Hill outbreaks shocked and shamed us, magistrates and police were concerned about the gangsterism spreading among sections of our youth.

This urge to violence has been turned in Notting Hill against the coloured. These unthinking young roughs have been thrilled to do battle against another race, breaking the windows of their homes, chasing and beating single persons. The coloured have retaliated. It has been horrible; but I ask our Caribbean, African and Asian friends to realise that this is not natural to British people.

A great responsibility rests on those who preach racial intolerance. They may disavow violence, but the propaganda in Notting Hill of Mosley's British Union, the League of Empire Loyalists, the National Socialists (Nazis), who daubed my house with swastikas, and the few fanatics of the Ku Klux Klan have fanned the flames. A lunatic fringe can be dangerous.

The decent-minded in Britain must now prove to the world that the British people believe in human equality. There must be a great coming together of all who have civilised values. We must demonstrate that the few who have shamed Britain are not Britain.

The final test will be what Parliament does. We must make it clear that we will not accept any control of immigration based on race or colour.

## Tragedy of Cyprus

Apparently the British Government proposes to proceed with its plan for Cyprus despite the opposition of eighty per cent of the population and the refusal of the Greek Government to appoint a representative on the island. This is madness.

It is even said that the Turkish representative has been invited to arrive in Cyprus on October 1. If this prove to be true, the British Government will have the responsibility of letting loose worse violence than ever. The Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, was in England last week-end. Surely he cannot identify himself with this fatal policy?

Sir Hugh has told the Cypriot people that

they may look forward in due course to a National Assembly elected by all irrespective of race. This should be made simultaneous with the election of the racial councils to control communal affairs. I believe a solution on these lines would be accepted by the Greek Cypriots. It would save Cyprus from further tragedy.

## Hands off China

The proposed talks between China and the United States on an ambassadorial level may postpone the crisis in the Formosa straits, but they will not resolve it. The only solution can be a return to China of Quemoy and the offshore islands and, for Formosa, a period of neutralisation under the United Nations, to be followed by a plebiscite on union with China.

The best thing the United States could do for Chiang Kai-shek would be to offer him and his family a pension and hospitality on American soil.

## South-West Africa

The recommendation by the Good Offices Committee of the United Nations that South-West Africa should be partitioned and that the Southern part should be made a white area, with the African tribes concentrated in the North under the trusteeship of the United Nations, is a surprising surrender to the doctrine of apartheid.

The southern territory is rich in minerals. It will become another Johannesburg, with Africans employed as contracted labour.

The Northern part of the territory will consist largely of a labour reserve still ruled by South Africa.

I am amazed that Sir Charles Arden Clarke, who was such an enlightened Governor of the Gold Coast, should as Chairman have subscribed to this recommendation.

The proposal has still to go to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations and after that to the General Assembly. The Trusteeship Committee is very unlikely to approve the Report, and I shall be surprised if the General Council does so.

## Chilean election

The Right Wing candidate, Senor Alessandri, has come top in the election for the Presidency of Chile, but only by a majority of 31,892 in a vote of over 1,000,000. There were five candidates, and his closest rival, Dr. Salvador Allende, the head of a Socialist Coalition, stood on the Bandung Conference programme of neutralism from both the Power blocs.

He advocated a federation of Chile with Argentina and Brazil, whose economies are complementary rather than competitive, with the goal of creating in South America an expanding community of nations which should become independent both politically and economically from the United States.

Since Senor Alessandri did not obtain a majority of all the votes, the Senate must decide whether his election is valid or whether there shall be a second ballot. In either case the result is of extraordinary significance.

South America consists of sovereign States, but they have been the victims of the economic imperialism of the United States and until recently have been subservient to its political leadership in the United Nations. There is little doubt that the future will be with the policy which Dr. Allende has advocated.

## RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

### SUGGESTIONS FOR TOPICS FOR YOUR GROUP PROGRAMME FOR THE AUTUMN AND WINTER

Discuss "Why Pacifists should assist the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" (copy free on request).

Discuss other stimulating and controversial subjects dealt with in all the literature of the Movement for a Pacifist Church (write for free samples).

Ask for speaker to discuss the reasons why a Pacifist Church is essential.

(Write to Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex)

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Please help a child like me



Hunger, sickness and lack of shelter are still the only companions of thousands of refugee victims of world tension—children such as 9-year-old Lee Jae Ku, a Korean waif with both legs amputated, who was rescued while crawling between stalls looking for scraps to eat. Please help a child like him, or like the European orphan shown here.

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Leaflets and the law

I WAS interested in the story in "Editor's Notebook" of an Officer of the Law telling people on the Walk for Peace to the United Nations to stop passing out leaflets, and how he discontinued his efforts to prevent their distribution after one of the Walkers quoted a clause of the United States Constitution. Though on that Walk, I did not happen to witness that.

As one of those who walked the full distance from Winchester, Virginia, to the White House in Washington during the Walk for Peace protesting against nuclear tests this past May, I was involved in a similar experience.

We were passing out leaflets in Leesburg, Virginia, when we were told by an officer to quit. "Does a local ordinance state we should have a permit?" I asked. "I believe so," he replied. "Let me ask the Mayor. Meanwhile, go ahead and pass those out. You're doing fine work. I'm worried about nuclear testing too."

We finished passing out the leaflets there without being approached again by him or any other officer. (Our leader was then on another street.)—RICHARD BAKER, South Fork Route, Moorefield, West Virginia, U.S.A.

## 'Mithras'

THERE are two such glaring inaccuracies in the Rev. Lewis MacLachlan's review of the above book that I hope you will be able to find space for their correction.

In the first place, I am not, as he so flatly says, "an established novelist." My almost life-long interest has been the study of metaphysics and comparative religion, and since 1936 my solo publications have all been educational and metaphysical, although during the war years I collaborated with J. D. Beresford in what we thought of as parables in fiction form.

Therefore it is hardly true to say that in the above book I have invaded territory with which I am not familiar.

## PRELIMINARY NOTICE

### DEMONSTRATION ON RACIAL SOLIDARITY Trafalgar Square Sunday Sept. 21 3 p.m.

National Speakers  
Offers of help to

Further information in next week's Peace News

Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

## PPU London Area Rally

### "WHICH WAY TO PEACE?"

3.15 - 5 p.m. Area Affairs—Speaker: Sybil Morrison Chair: Ted Jones

5 - 7 p.m. Tea and Social

7 p.m. Open Forum with Minnie Pallister, Sybil Morrison, Newton Jones and Rev. Booth Taylor

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

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# QUIZZING AN A E C COMMISSIONER

By Ernest Bromley

This is the third part of "A Week in the AEC Lobby," a serial in four parts which tells of the efforts of a group of Americans to gain interviews with the heads of the Atomic Energy Commission in order to demonstrate the concern about the continued testing of nuclear weapons.

In the first two parts Ernest Bromley, who was a member of the group, told how they travelled to the AEC plant outside Washington arriving on Wednesday, May 7, and then camped in the lobby of the plant for the night.

This instalment opens soon after three mothers had joined the group the following day.

THE newspaper people kept asking questions. Is this a hunger strike? Are you going to leave when you see Mr. Strauss? Will you stay until you see him?

These were difficult to answer for news copy.

We had brought our concerns to the AEC because we hoped to have a heart-to-heart talk with men who make bomb test policy, and were unable to estimate in advance just which interview would be the "satisfactory" one, but we were pretty sure we would need to see Mr. Strauss, and that we wouldn't eat while at the AEC.

### Cot that wasn't used

The presence of fasting women seemed to trouble the AEC personnel. They came over to us and offered to provide us with four camp cots for them. We had been in agreement on the really crucial project issues. On this trivial matter, however, we had a hard time deciding. Finally we agreed that it mattered little and that any one who wished might take cots. Trudi and Clay Marks, a young couple from Washington, joined us. So we were now 15 adults.

We had a serious mission, but some of the incidents were funny. That night I was amused at the blustering, loud-voiced fellow who seemed in charge of the security officers. He kept roaring into the phone in a voice that could probably have reached the hearer without the instrument. It bothered him that women and a little boy, Alan Willoughby, had been added to the men.

Marjorie Swann had given her cot to Alan and so was on the floor. "Get another cot," he roared into the phone. "This boy ought to be home in his bed. I don't care if you have to go clear to Washington, get another cot! And blankets."

Finally about 2 a.m. someone managed to produce another cot, a battered one, but Marj was asleep and saw the cot-bundle beside her the next morning.

### Nation-wide support

Friday, May 9.—We got up and folded the cots, placed the screens that had been provided so the women could have privacy back in a storeroom. We placed the cot bundles behind the divans to leave the lobby "as usual." All through the project we tried to be as little trouble to our hosts as possible. We wanted to be emphatic on more important things than making nuisances of ourselves.

Alan Willoughby became great friends with Earl Lane of the AEC security staff. Mr. Lane had two boys about Alan's age. When mealtime came he would take the boy out to meals. Alan had money in his pocket to pay for food, but I don't think he used any of it.

While we were sitting in the lobby we had talks with many people who were there on other business and came over to talk to us. Some seemed to share our concern on nuclear testing. . . . I think all made a genuine effort to understand our position.

Telegrams and phone calls kept coming in urging us to hang on, telling us we had support from all over the country.

At 3 p.m. on Friday we were granted an hour's conference with Commissioner John S. Graham. All of us went into a conference room and seated ourselves around him in a semi-circle. All of us were given an opportunity to speak.

### No answer

Mr. Graham stated his position strongly. "We are producing weapons. As long as we are going to have weapons we must have good ones. Any product you make, you also have to test, like a cigarette."

Someone asked him how he personally felt about making weapons that could demolish so many people. "I have human feelings as well as you do," he declared defensively. "I have a good friend who is a Quaker. During the war he made his choice—to go into the Armed Forces."

"How are you going to keep the bomb-testing from harming people?"

"I can't answer that."

This was a better conference than a few quotes can indicate, however, for he was with us for an hour, and we did bring the points that worried us.

### Awkward question

Loren Miner of our group, a young pacifist who had received an honourable discharge from the Army after serving half a three-year enlistment, lingered with Mr. Graham at the door as we were leaving. "In line with the idea of approaching each other man to man on a human level, Mr. Graham, and in line with your analogy of a manufacturer needing to test his product to be sure it will work, suppose you lined a thousand children against a wall in order to test a new machine-gun. Under these conditions do you feel you have the right to test?"

At this Mr. Graham let Miner's hand drop, and as he hurried away turned back to say, "Look—let me off this one, will you?"

We went back to the lobby and conferred. There was some feeling we had accomplished our mission by expressing ourselves to Mr. Graham. Newspapermen and AEC people kept asking whether we were satisfied. We gave this message to Mr. Magruder (assistant to Mr. Strauss) and to the Press.

"We are deeply appreciative of the conference between our group and Commissioner Graham. We feel that there was some genuine man-to-man contact between us and him, and that he will convey our attitude to the other Commissioners.

### We stay in the lobby

"However, we feel that we have not yet accomplished our purpose of bringing home to the Commissioners and to the public the urgency of stopping nuclear weapons testing. In addition, we are waiting word as to the fate of our friends in the crew of the Golden Rule and wish to wait here together, adding our testimony to theirs on behalf of an immediate end to all testing."

So 6.30 found us sitting in the lobby while the employees made preparation to close us in till Monday at 7 a.m. We were warned that the cafeteria would be closed over the week-end. Since we hadn't been eating, that was no great matter to any of us. We settled down for another night.

I slept on the bare floor one night, and can testify to the truth of what one officer said about the blocks being so new they hadn't yet worn smooth.

(To be concluded.)

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# DIARY

## The father of the Indian unrest

Om reviews

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, by T. V. Parvate. Navajivan Press, India; distributed by Housmans Bookshop, London, 16s.

NATURE reveals that no progress is made without contradictions in life. No elevation is reached without being generated by dissatisfaction.

Whoever commands the dissatisfied can achieve his purpose. That is why Sir Valentine Chirol rightly described Mahatma Tilak as "the father of the Indian unrest," says Mr. T. V. Parvate in his second attempt at Tilak's biography. Obviously the fruit of great effort, this book should be read with an open mind.

With all the inhuman and undemocratic repressions by the British, protests against the rule went on. In order to channel this fermentation the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 by Mr. Hume.

The Congress was a safety valve; its aim was to organise peaceful agitations. Naturally Congress was supposed to be loyalist. The movement was lead by moderates like Justice Renade and Mr. Gokhale—the political teacher of Gandhi—who propounded the idea that the British stay in India was a divine dispensation.

Mr. Parvate tells us how Tilak after his studies entered the political field at a time when to think of freedom was to commit a most heinous crime.

Mahatma Tilak then shouldered the responsibility of leading his nation. He brushed aside comfort and career and embraced misfortune and hardship to free India from foreign domination. In an interview, he made clear to a journalist that after independence he would rather be a Professor of Mathematics than Prime Minister.

Tilak was a pioneer of Democratic Swaraja (independence). He pointed out many times in his newspaper Kesri that, after the attainment of freedom, India must be a democratic state. It was not to have a democratic superstructure but its contents were to be democratic, which he called Swaraja. This would arise only out of the awakening of the people. With this end in view, he started a unique educational institution, he himself becoming a professor of Mathematics.

Mahatma Tilak was a soldier whose aim was to win not with the powers of his

sword but with the power of his will and the deeds of sacrifice. Awakening self-respect, self-discipline and self-reliance among the masses was his way to achieve self-government.

He was opposed to the attitude of the moderates in the struggle for freedom. The moderates believed that the British would quit if Indians became fit for Swaraja whereas Tilak differed in putting his faith in the sincerity of the rulers.

To indicate that India would never achieve independence while her people remained willing and obedient, he told of "a faithful shepherdess who said she was free from one fear—she would not be ravished as she was willing." He gave the slogan: "Swaraja (independence) is my birthright and I will have it."

One may differ from Mr. Parvate when he writes on page 125 of Tilak's article in the Indian newspaper Maharatta, June 24, 1906: "It was only in conformity with the political circumstances of the country at the time that Shivaji (an Indian leader) was born in Maharashtra, but a future leader may be born anywhere in India and who knows may even be a Mohammedan."

Then the author goes further by pointing out that this is "indeed prophetic when we think of the role that Gandhi and Jinnah played in achieving self-government for India and Pakistan." In my opinion Tilak never wanted the vicesection of his motherland and would not call it Democratic Swaraja. Why did he lay stress on reviving the celebration of Shrivaji Maharaj who consolidated more than half of India?

Tilak's profound knowledge of law, Sanskrit, philosophy, politics, economics, mathematics, astronomy and metaphysics and his command over English and Maharathi, won wide respect, the distinguished Sanscritist Professor Muller protesting at such a scholar being allowed to rot in jail.

Tilak taught us to love truth, respect reason and realise the purpose of life.

### French CO released

I DON'T know whether or not it was because he had been nominated for the

1959 Nobel Peace Prize, but the French Government have released Edmond Schaguene after nearly ten years in prison.

Schaguene, who was expected to be freed last Saturday became France's best-known conscientious objector by reason of the fact that for years he had been repeatedly sentenced and re-arrested for refusing military service.

Certainly the release is a triumph for the recently formed "Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience," which numbers Albert Camus, Jean Cocteau, Lanza del Vasto and Abbe Pierre among its sponsors.

An attempt will now be made to have the nomination transferred to Gaston Couly. He has been in prison for eight years.

### Sir Herbert Read's message

I HAVE just been reading the message sent to the World Peace Council's Stockholm Conference by the British poet and anarchist, Sir Herbert Read.

He declares that the "threat created by the intervention and possible use of atomic

fissile weapons calls for urgent positive action of a non-violent kind.

"The situation will never be redeemed by Governments but only by the revolt of the masses against military and official policy-makers who can contemplate the use of a weapon capable of destroying civilisation and bringing death or incalculable suffering to all mankind."

He urges the Congress to "investigate the modes and strategy of civil disobedience (industrial strike action, hunger strikes, withholding of tax-payments, mass demonstrations, etc.).

"I am convinced that no means less realistic will avert the threat of annihilating war," he concludes.

The full statement is reproduced in the World Peace Council's Bulletin for August 15, a publication and organisation which has the support of all the Communist Governments.

### End discrimination

"WE can allow Harijans (untouchables) but with other religions it is different; and at present we cannot allow them to enter, although we appreciate your viewpoint."

This was the answer given to Vinoba Bhave, leader of the Indian Land Gift Movement when he sought to take some Christian friends into an Indian temple.

Now that the ban on the admission of Harijans has been overcome Vinoba is attempting to get people of other religions admitted to temples. He was successful at Gokarna Mahabaleswar, a famous centre of pilgrimage, in securing admission for a Muslim friend.

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by Mary Klopfer

Foreword by Fenner Brockway MP

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GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of

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#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS,

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#### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site.

Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist

ministers and others. MPF.

#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Black-

stock Rd., N.4. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends mtg. Hse., Bush

Rd., E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St.

George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row.

Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World

Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different

#### FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meet-

ing House (outside) Peace News selling.



## H-PROTESTER CONVICTED

By JIM PECK

**EARLE REYNOLDS**, captain of the ketch, Phoenix, which sailed into the Pacific bomb-testing area following the Golden Rule's attempt, was convicted on August 26 by a jury which deliberated two and a half hours. He is on bail pending sentence.

He plans to appeal, to the highest court if necessary, challenging the US Government's right to seize its nationals on the high seas, to appropriate an entire area outside its territory and to contaminate the air and water in such an area with atomic fallout.

The trial got under way after Judge J. Frank McLaughlin rejected a third attempt by Reynolds to have the case postponed until arrival of his attorney, Joseph Rauh, Jr., from Washington (Rauh recently won the Arthur Miller case in which the well-known playwright was charged with contempt for failure to give information to the Eastland Committee).

### Judge interrupts

While commending the groundwork done by his local attorney, Katsugo Miho, Reynolds told the court that Miho was no longer on the case. But Judge McLaughlin refused to allow the attorney to withdraw.

Miho rested Reynolds's case without putting on either evidence or witnesses. Twice Reynolds tried to address the court but was cut off by a terse "no" from Judge McLaughlin.

Miho's summation was interrupted four times by Judge McLaughlin, who warned the attorney to stick to the facts in the case.

"Is it evil intent to tell your government that you think it is doing wrong?" Miho asked the jury.

Meanwhile, the Phoenix, with its short-handed crew including Nick Mikami (a Japanese citizen whom the US Government had no jurisdiction to arrest), Mrs. Reynolds now in command, and her son Ted, is heading back to Honolulu and is expected to arrive in late September.

**THE** slow birth of democratic freedom in this country is an achievement of which every Britisher has a perfectly good right to be proud.

The struggle for the rights of the "working classes," for the emancipation and equality of opportunity for women, for abolition of slavery, and for freedom to worship, to vote in secret, and to speak and write publicly, even if against Government policy, has been won, not always spectacularly, but at least steadily and surely.

The gradual whittling away of these hard won liberties, which began during the first world war, when conscription—unheard of in this country since the days of the brutal and infamous press-gangs—was introduced, and the so-called Defence of the Realm Act was put upon the Statute Book by Orders in Council without debate in Parliament, has seemed to go largely unnoticed.

The second world war made the way easy for re-introducing conscription, and excused with equal facility the curtailment of free speech and individual independence; in fact, the exigencies of war made it possible for a National Government to introduce identity cards, and to proceed, without protest, on other measures which would have

# From Chicago to Notting Hill

By Dr. HOMER JACK

The writer was professionally engaged for five years in Chicago race relations work following riots there.

**THE** news of the recent racial violence in England has been received in America with sadness. Certainly America has enough unsolved racial problems of her own not to point a finger of scorn overseas. Just because America has lived with her racial problems for decades, however, America might be of some help to England at this moment in suggesting some ways of solving these problems.

In the past fifteen years an increment of progress in race relations techniques has been achieved in the United States. The politicians and the people in America have not necessarily wanted to use these techniques, but they are there for all to use, and certainly some can be adapted to the English scene.

### Use of law

First of all, race relations in America has become professional. It is no longer the domain of well-meaning civic leaders and clergymen. They help, as lay advisers, but there is a new class of professionally-trained and experienced executives in the field of race relations. There is even a professional organisation: the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

Secondly, there are two new kinds of American race relations organisations, both of which have developed largely since the

### Campaigners on TV

**TELEVIEWERS** in Wales saw something of the march and demonstration against nuclear weapons held in Merthyr Tydfil recently.

The marchers, led by the Mayor, representatives of the Free Churches and local Labour Parties, heard George Thomas, MP, say that ours was the first generation to risk the well-being of unborn generations in providing its own physical defence.

"We are behaving with the morality of cannibals," he said, "because we as a people are saying we don't care about the unknown perils to the young as long as we are all right."

Another big demonstration in Wales opens on September 14 with a "Ban-the-bomb" week in Aberdare and Mountain Ash.

There will be special church services, brains trust, public meeting, play, film shows, open-air rally and a rock 'n' roll dance at which a "ban-the-bomb" beauty queen will be elected.

Colchester, Essex, is to have its week from Sept. 20 to 27 with film shows, an exhibition, and public meeting addressed by Sir Richard Acland.

tragic race riots in Detroit, Michigan, in 1943. One is the official agency—a body formed and subsidised by city or State authority. Such States as New York and Illinois, such cities as Philadelphia and Cleveland, have such official commissions of race relations (or human relations).

In addition, some communities have unofficial inter-group relations councils—an amalgam of a great many civic groups which band together to act in the field of race relations. San Francisco has such a body.

Thirdly, America has used administrative law in lessening discrimination. Prejudice is difficult to eradicate, and, in any case, is legal in America. But discrimination is increasingly considered immoral and laws are being passed to outlaw discrimination in public places, employment, housing, etc.

These laws are not only prohibitory; they also set up enforcement agencies which—through investigation, education, negotiation, and even court injunctions if necessary—may substantially lessen discrimination.

Greatest anti-discrimination progress in America has been achieved in the field of employment through the passage of fair employment practice laws and the accompanying FEP commissions.

Fourth, America has belatedly realised the role of the police in lessening actual racial violence. In too many recent race riots, the police have encouraged violence by turning their backs and refusing to arrest the culprits. Sometimes they have even arrested the victims!

### Gandhian techniques

In an increasing number of American cities, even in the South, special classes in race relations techniques, including riot control, have been held for police supervisors and individual patrolmen.

In many instances such trained police, working closely with official human relations commissions, have prevented race riots from spreading—in co-operation, of course, with prosecuting attorneys and the courts.

Fifth, some Americans for almost two decades have been using Gandhian techniques for the solution of more difficult racial problems.

Beginning with the use of sit-down tech-

niques in Chicago where Negroes and their white companions were refused service in restaurants, this technique has been applied to cinema and barber shop discrimination, railroad segregation in the South, bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, and race riot situations in the North (where Negroes were afraid to walk into "white" areas to do shopping).

Here is a technique which might have wide adaptability on the part of non-whites in Great Britain. CORE, the Committee of Racial Equality, has specialised in these non-violent resistance techniques since its formation in 1942.

Some of these American experiences and insights might be helpful to lessen current racial violence in England; but America can still take to heart the New Testament admonition, "Physician, heal thyself!"

## Liberals and Nuclear disarmament

**A** RESOLUTION on nuclear disarmament coming before the Liberal Party Conference next week calls on the British Government to "make known the present levels and dangers of radio-activity in Britain."

The Resolution, drafted in the light of the recently published United Nations Scientific Committee's Report—

"(1) Welcomes the reports of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of atomic radiation and the Geneva Conference of nuclear experts.

"(2) Approves the American-British proposals to suspend nuclear tests, but deplores the continuation of the present series.

"(3) Condemns Her Majesty's Government for:

- (i) misleading the public about the dangers of rising radio-activity;
- (ii) continuing nuclear tests in the knowledge that they lead to increased leukaemia, bone cancer, and deformities in children everywhere;
- (iii) providing the excuse for other countries to compete in the production of nuclear weapons;

"4) Calls on Her Majesty's Government: (i) to stop at once further British nuclear tests, and to ask the American Government to do the same;

(ii) to call immediately a special meeting of the United Nations' General Assembly with the purpose of preventing other countries testing and making nuclear weapons;

(iii) to make known the present levels and dangers of radio-activity in Britain."

tion in the once proud claim of Britain to be the leaders in true democratic liberty.

All the speeches of statesmen from Churchill and Roosevelt, to Macmillan and Eisenhower, have rung with the resounding challenge to defend, at all costs, that splendid liberty, and the so-called "free world."

Nevertheless, it is this "free world" that has required for its defence the wholesale slaughter of tens of thousands of men, women and children; that has forced upon its citizens the appalling responsibility of experimenting with atom bombs upon human beings, and has led in the end to a race in weapons which, if ever used, will inevitably result in the destruction of life on earth.

It is the refusal to free ourselves from the tyranny of war that has brought us all to this dire dilemma, and it is clear that the danger of nuclear warfare will disappear only when war itself has been renounced and abolished.

The insidious undermining, in the name of "defence measures," of the liberty for which it is alleged two world wars have been fought, can only be stopped by the voice of the people saying for the whole world to hear: "NO MORE WAR."

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By Sybil Morrison

## 'Above all liberties'

*We do not admit people to Great Britain who come principally to take part in public meetings, especially when against Government policy.*

—British Immigration Officer to Dr. Linus Pauling, September, 1958.

*Believe it, Lords and Commons, they who counsel ye to such suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves. . . . Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. . . . Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.*

—Arcopagitica. John Milton, 1644.

been considered shocking if carried out in any other country.

The fact that in Germany no one could criticise Hitler with impunity, that in Russia for many years no word against Stalin was ever heard, and Mussolini's name kept even the voluble Italians carefully whispering, or totally silent, was looked upon by the British as a most deplorable state of affairs.

When Stuart Morris went to lecture in the United States on behalf of the Friends Service Committee in 1952, and was detained on Ellis Island for two weeks, it was considered a gross violation of individual freedom which did not belong to the tenets of Western democracy, and would certainly

not, it was believed, have occurred in Britain.

When, more recently, the Women's Caravan for Peace was prevented from holding anti-nuclear weapons' meetings in Switzerland, there were many people in this country only too ready to deplore what they believed could not happen here.

Yet there has been plenty of evidence in the past that people coming from abroad to attend conferences, or speak at meetings, the objects of which were not smiled upon by the authorities, have been impeded, and even denied entry to Great Britain. The treatment of Dr. Linus Pauling is only another instance of the gradual deteriora-

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